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11
12 IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
13 FOR THE CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
14 WESTERN DIVISION

15 **DAVID TANGIPA, et al.,**

16 Plaintiffs,

17 and

18 **UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,**

19 Plaintiff-Intervenor

20 v.

21 **GAVIN NEWSOM, in his official**
22 **capacity as the Governor of California,**
et al.,

23 Defendants,

24 and

25 **DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSIONAL**
26 **CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE, et al.,**

27 Defendant-Intervenors.
28

2:25-cv-10616-JLS-WLH-KKL
Three-Judge Court

VOLUME 15 OF 15

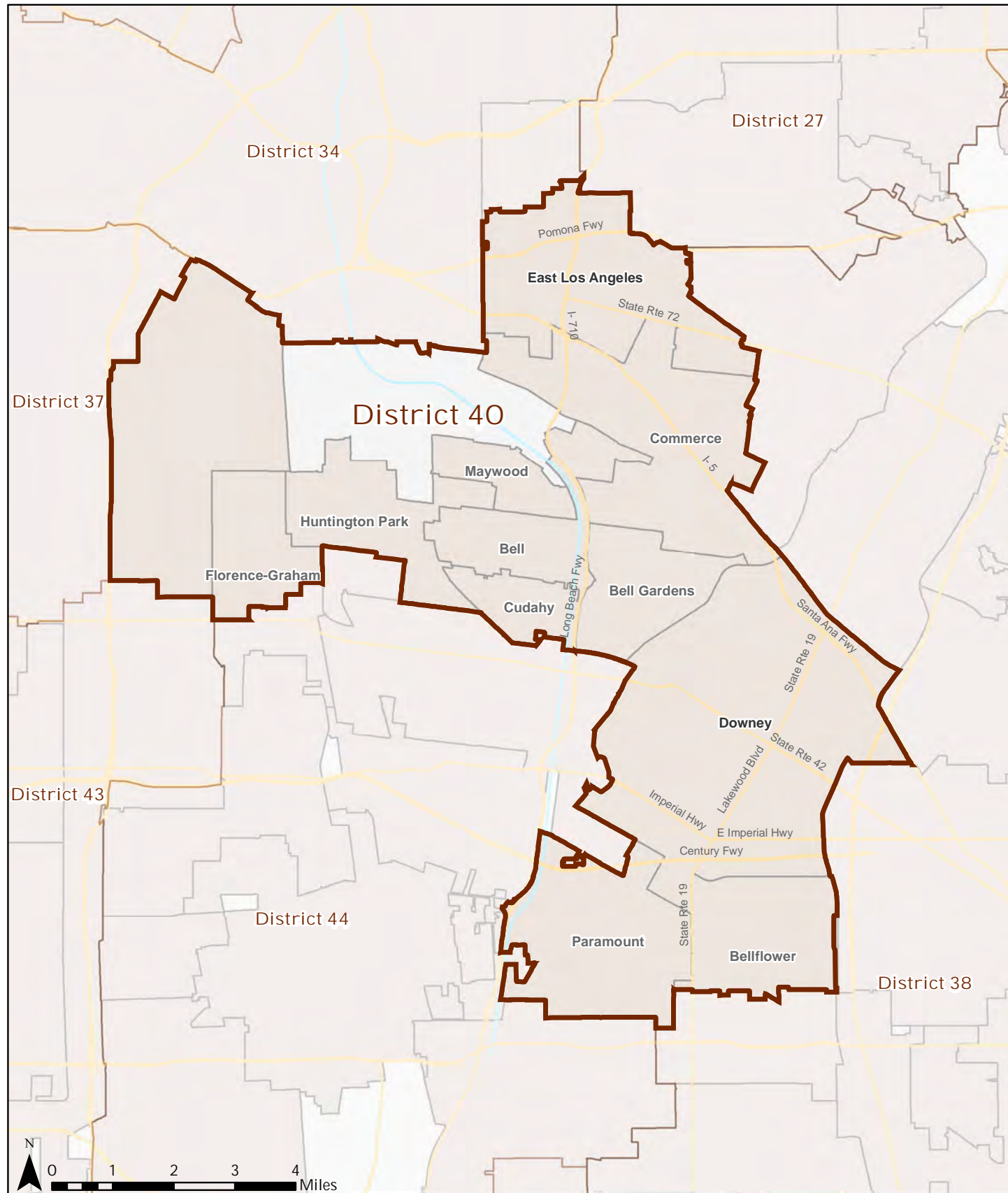
EXHIBITS 41- 47

**TO THE DECLARATION OF
RYAN EASON IN SUPPORT OF
DEFENDANTS' OPPOSITION
TO PLAINTIFFS' AND
PLAINTIFF-INTERVENOR'S
MOTIONS FOR PRELIMINARY
INJUNCTION**

EXHIBIT 41

TO DECLARATION OF RYAN EASON

California State Congressional District 40



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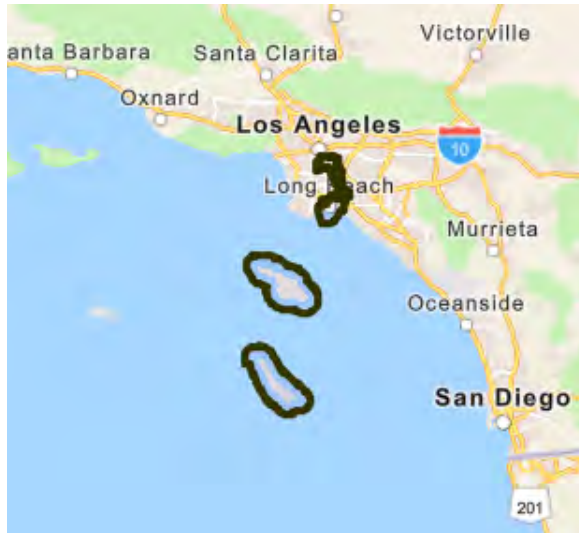
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(202) 225-7924[Contact](#)**Party** Democratic**House** California, District 42 118th-119th (2023-Present)

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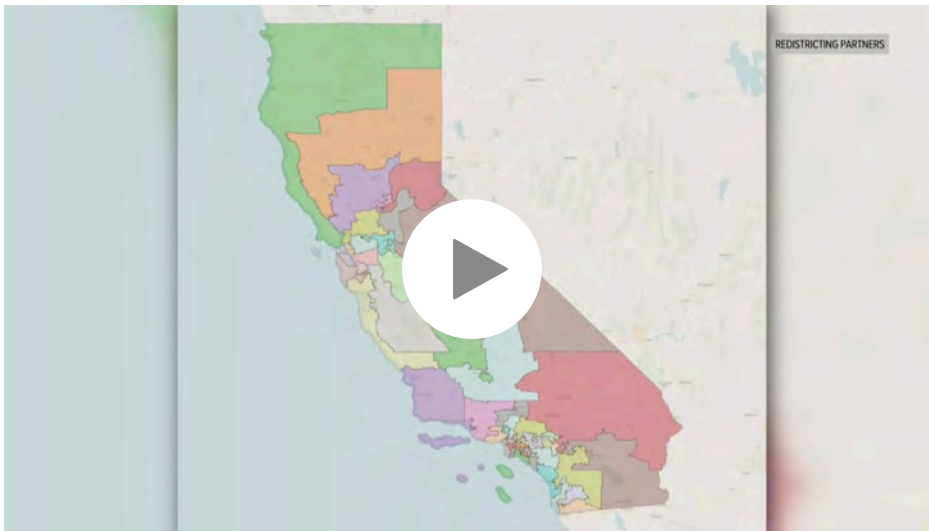
EXHIBIT 43

TO DECLARATION OF RYAN EASON

CALIFORNIA

The next steps in California Democrats' plan to counter Texas Republicans' redistricting push

ABC10 obtained a draft of a proposed congressional map that California may consider if it moves forward with its redistricting plan.



Author: Associated Press, Staff (ABC10)
Published: 5:06 PM PDT August 15, 2025
Updated: 7:25 PM PDT August 15, 2025



SACRAMENTO, Calif — California is the first Democrat-led state to wade into [a brewing national redistricting fight](#) after President Donald Trump urged Texas Republicans to draw new maps to maintain the party's slim U.S. House majority after the 2026 midterm elections.

The Texas plan was temporarily stalled when minority-party Democrats left the state to stop the state Legislature from passing any bills, but some lawmakers said they'll [return to Texas](#) now that California is [moving forward](#) with its counter act.

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redrawn maps draft

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New draft of map shows proposed redistricting congressional lines in California | abc10.com

ABC10 obtained a draft of a proposed redrawn congressional map, showing 52 different districts. That number isn't changing. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee submitted the maps, which were drawn using the company Redistricting Partners, headed by Sacramento-based data consultant Paul Mitchell.

"There's the changes where we sought to increase the partisanship of a district so that we could get a Democrat elected in order to combat what Trump is doing," Mitchell said. "Then there's the other districts, where you might see people moving because of all the other movements."

Currently, nine of California's 52 congressional seats are held by Republicans.

The newly published, proposed map targets Republican Representatives Kevin Kiley of Rocklin; Doug LaMalfa of Richvale and the northeast portion of the state; David Valadao of Bakersfield and Corcoran; Darrell Issa, representing portions of San Diego and Riverside counties and Ken Calvert of the Inland Empire.

Those five stand to lose their seats. Only four Republicans remain in what are considered 'safe' districts: Tom McClintock, Vince Fong, Jay Obernolte and Young Kim.

And some Democrats in swing districts will find themselves in safer Democratic strongholds, Mitchell said.

"We have these five Democratic pickups, but we also have about five seats where we have Democrats who, you know, maybe won by a couple-hundred votes in the last election, and we can't afford for a Republican to pick that seat up and eat into these potential gains," he said. "So we did a lot to bolster Democratic candidates up and down the state that are potentially in tough races like Adam Gray in the Central Valley."

Keep in mind, California has an independent redistricting commission that is in charge of re-drawing congressional districts after each U.S. Census. Newsom's proposal would temporarily put their maps on hold for the next three election cycles, returning to the Commission after the 2030 Census.

"About eight districts are completely untouched, totally. There are about 20 districts that are touched only by maybe 10% - so small adjustments really was a commitment to trying to hold on to as much of the architecture of the Commission plan, because the Commission did do a great job, and there was no reason to undo that," Mitchell said.

Communities that were split on the draft map are in San Jose, Sacramento, and Los Angeles.

"The plans have been built on the mission-criteria and on the state's Fair Map Act criteria, trying to make sure we're protecting communities," Mitchell said. "Proud to say instead of the 60 cities

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that were split in the Commission plan, we were actually able to reduce that and have a 57-city split."

Republican Congressman Kevin Kiley is one whose district is targeted by this map. He told ABC10 he thinks voters will reject the maps.

"They want to keep the independent citizens commission in place. They want to keep our district lines as they were drawn by that independent commission. They don't want to go back to the era of partisan gerrymandering with self-interested politicians drawing the lines themselves," Kiley said. "So as long as the truth gets out, California voters will overwhelmingly reject this proposition."

ABC10 asked how Kiley thinks he would fare if the maps passed and he had to run in the redrawn district.

"Make no mistake; I will run for and win re-election, regardless of the Governor's attempt to slice up and gerrymander my district," Kiley said. "This might come as a bizarre notion to Gavin Newsom, who is a hyper partisan and only cares about his own party and partisan purposes and pretty much ignores anyone else in California, but I actually represent all of my constituents: Democrats, Republicans and Independents, and that is reflected in the support I've gotten in past elections."

Kiley has proposed a bill at the federal level that would ban all states – red or blue – from redistricting mid-decade, allowing for new maps to be drawn only in the wake of each U.S. Census.

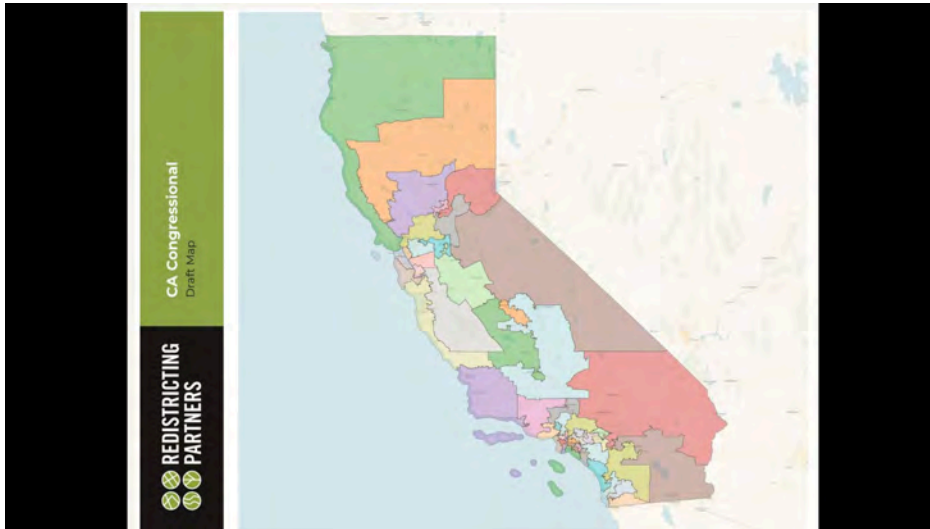
Newsom, on the other hand, said he's confident Californians will approve the maps.

"We anticipate these maps will completely neuter and neutralize what is happening in Texas," Newsom said. "Donald Trump does not play fair. You've seen that happen over and over again, and I'm just not going to sit back and be complicit."

He said he hopes other Democratic states follow suit, so Democrats can regain control of the House in the Midterms.

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Credit: Redistricting Partners

Draft of new California Congressional districts proposed by Redistricting Partners

Here's what happens next in California:

Legislative approval

Lawmakers will return to the Capitol on Monday after summer break and plan to take up the partisan plan immediately. State Democrats hold supermajorities in both chambers — enough to act without any Republican votes — and Newsom has said he's not worried about winning the required support from two-thirds of lawmakers to advance the maps.

Lawmakers will hold hearings on Tuesday and Wednesday on a package of bills to establish the new congressional map, declare a Nov. 4 special election and authorize to reimburse local government for the costs. Elections committees in both houses are asking for public feedback on the proposed maps, but it's unlikely any changes would be made after the bills are officially introduced Monday.

Amendments to any legislation would require a 72-hour wait before a vote. That would jeopardize Democrats' plan to approve the package by Thursday to give elections officials enough time to prepare ballots for a statewide election in November. State leaders have already [blown past deadlines](#) designed to give local officials adequate time for organizing an election.

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Special elections are costly

California sends every voter a mail-in ballot roughly a month before each election. That means local officials have less than two months to prepare and print ballots.

They're already preparing. On Friday, a coalition of county officials urged the Legislature to provide money in advance, because many counties are cash-strapped, and officials worry they won't have enough money to administer the election.

A 2021 special election cost over \$200 million to conduct. State Republicans this week estimated this year's would cost \$235 million.

Democrats chose Nov. 4 for the election because Los Angeles County and others are already holding local elections that day.

An intense campaign

Newsom is leading the campaign in favor of the maps. He and Democrats signaled Thursday they'll make the effort a referendum on Trump and tie it to the future of American democracy.

Perhaps the most prominent opponent will be former Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger, who championed the state's independent redistricting commission during his time in office. On

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Friday, he posted a photo of himself lifting weights on social media wearing a T-shirt that called to "terminate gerrymandering," a nod to his role in the "Terminator" movies.

Republican donor Charles Munger Jr., who spent tens of millions to support the California ballot initiative that gives redistricting power to an independent commission, also plans to "vigorously defend" nonpartisan redistricting, his spokesperson said.

State Republicans say the move is a power grab by Democrats, and some have vowed to go to court.

Steve Hilton, a Republican candidate for governor, earlier this month paid for a legal opinion that says redistricting outside of the normal process and cycle violates the California Constitution. The new map wouldn't be fair because state lawmakers are relying on outdated population data, he said.

Common Cause, a good governance group that supports independent redistricting, initially opposed California's effort, but this week reversed its stance. The group said it won't challenge partisan redistricting in California if the effort is approved by voters, among other criteria.

A temporary change

California voters in 2010 gave the power to draw congressional maps to an independent commission, with the goal of making the process less partisan. The commission last redrew maps following the 2020 census, and the maps were in place for the 2022 and 2024 U.S. House elections.

Newsom and Democratic leaders say they'll ask voters to approve their new maps only for the next few elections. They say they'll return map-drawing power to the commission following the 2030 census.

The new map would take effect only if a Republican state moves forward with new maps.

What's next in Texas?

The release of the plan came the same day that Texas Republicans began a second special session to approve new congressional maps sought by Trump.

The first special session ended without approving new maps, thwarted by Democrats who staged a nearly two-week walkout that meant not enough lawmakers were present to pass any

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legislation. Gov. Greg Abbott then called a second session that started without the necessary quorum to conduct business.

Absent lawmakers have said [they will return to Austin](#) once California Democrats take more formal steps on their own redistricting plan.

Trump is trying to avoid a repeat of the 2018 midterms, when the GOP yielded control during his first presidency to a Democratic majority that stymied his agenda and twice impeached him. The nation's two most populous states have been at the [forefront of the resulting battle](#), which has reached into multiple courtrooms and statehouses controlled by both parties.

Texas House Speaker Dustin Burrows chided colleagues who left Austin, accusing them of "following Gov. Newsom's lead instead of the will of Texans." The speaker said, however, that he has "been told" to expect a quorum Monday.

House control could come down to a few seats in 2026

On a national level, the partisan makeup of existing district lines puts Democrats within three seats of a majority. Of the 435 total seats, only several dozen districts are competitive. So even slight changes in a few states could affect which party wins control.

New maps are typically drawn once a decade after the census — the last being in 2020. Many states, including Texas, give legislators the power to draw maps. California is among those that empower independent commissions with the task.

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[California moving forward with partisan redistricting effort to counter Texas' move](#)

[Redistricting feud between California and Texas intensifies as other states threaten action](#)

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TO DECLARATION OF RYAN EASON



The 2024 Crossover House Seats: Overall Number Remains Low with Few Harris-District Republicans

AUTHOR

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KEY POINTS FROM THIS ARTICLE

- Just 16 districts voted for one party for president and the other for House, which is the same historically-low total as 2020.
- But there are 13 Democrats in Donald Trump-won districts compared to just 3 Republicans in Kamala Harris-won districts.

The House crossover districts

Despite losing the House of Representatives majority by a narrow 220-215 margin in the 2024 elections, Democrats are more “overextended” into turf won by Donald Trump. Republicans are into turf won by Kamala Harris.

According to a collection (https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1ZHx5EO-5vuXxcZShBgsAl_vwAntkkanGqYQpOowNjoQ/edit?gid=0#gid=0) of presidential results congressional district from a group of “Election Twitter” All-Stars that is curated by election analyst Drew Savicki, 13 Democrats won districts that Trump carried in 2024 only 3 Republicans won districts that Harris carried.

This is the first presidential election since 2008 in which Democrats won more of these crossover seats than Republicans, and the total, low number of crossover districts the same as it was in 2020. But that 2020 group was more mixed, with 9 Republicans in Joe Biden-won districts and 7 Democrats in Trump-won districts.

Table 1 shows the crossover districts after each election since 2000. The general trend is toward fewer of these crossover districts. In the 2000s, there were consistently dozen or more of these districts each election cycle, whereas since the 2012 redistricting cycle/election, the total has never eclipsed three dozen.

Table 1: Crossover districts 2000-2024

12/3/25, 12:02 PM

The 2024 Crossover House Seats: Overall Number Remains Low with Few Harris-District Republicans - Sabato's Crystal Ball

Year	Ds in districts carried by R prez nominee	Rs in districts carried by D prez nominee	Total
2000	46	40	86
2002	32	26	58
2004	41	18	59
2006	62	8	70
2008	49	34	83
2010	12	62	74
2012	9	17	26
2014	5	26	31
2016	12	23	35
2018	31	3	34
2020	7	9	16
2022	5	18	23
2024	13	3	16

Table 2 lists the crossover districts in 2024. Notably, while all of these districts voted for one party for president and the other for House, none of them were strongly Democratic or Republican at the presidential level: The presidential margin in all of them was less than 10 points, although Rep. Jared Golden's (D, ME-2) district came within about a point of being a double-digit Trump district. Among all members, Golden holds the district that is most hostile to his party, at least based on 2024 presidential voting (he won the electoral vote from this district in all 3 of his elections).

Table 2: 2024 House crossover district members

TRUMP-DISTRICT DEMOCRATS (13)								
District	Member	Trump	Harris	Trump margin	D vote	R vote	D margin	Difference
CA-13	Adam Gray	51.3%	45.9%	5.4%	50.0%	50.0%	0.1%	5.5%
CA-9	Josh Harder	49.4%	47.6%	1.8%	51.8%	48.2%	3.6%	5.4%
ME-2	Jared Golden	53.8%	44.2%	9.5%	50.3%	49.7%	0.7%	10.2%
MI-8	K. M. Rivet	50.2%	48.2%	2.0%	51.3%	44.6%	6.6%	8.6%
NC-1	Don Davis	51.1%	48.0%	3.1%	49.5%	47.8%	1.7%	4.8%
NJ-9	Nellie Pou	49.2%	48.0%	1.1%	50.8%	45.9%	4.9%	6.0%
NM-2	Gabe Vasquez	50.3%	48.3%	1.9%	52.1%	47.9%	4.2%	6.1%
NV-3	Susie Lee	49.5%	48.8%	0.7%	51.4%	48.6%	2.7%	3.5%
NY-3	Tom Suozzi	51.9%	46.7%	5.3%	51.8%	48.2%	3.6%	8.8%
OH-9	Marcy Kaptur	52.9%	46.2%	6.7%	48.3%	47.6%	0.6%	7.3%
TX-28	Henry Cuellar	53.1%	45.8%	7.3%	52.8%	47.2%	5.6%	12.9%
TX-34	Vicente Gonzalez	51.8%	47.4%	4.4%	51.3%	48.7%	2.6%	7.0%
WA-3	M. G. Perez	50.0%	46.7%	3.3%	51.7%	47.9%	3.9%	7.2%
HARRIS-DISTRICT REPUBLICANS (3)								
District	Member	Harris	Trump	Harris margin	R vote	D vote	R margin	Difference
NE-2	Don Bacon	51.6%	47.0%	4.6%	50.9%	49.1%	1.9%	6.5%
NY-17	Mike Lawler	49.9%	49.4%	0.6%	52.2%	45.9%	6.3%	6.9%
PA-1	Brian Fitzpatrick	49.7%	49.4%	0.3%	56.4%	43.6%	12.8%	13.1%

Source: 2024 Pres by CD curated (https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1ZHx5E0-5vuXcZShBgSAI_vwAntkkanGqYQpOowNjoQ/edit?gid=0#gid=0) by Drew Saville; Election Twitter for presidential district-level results; official state-level sources for House election results.

A Democrat who narrowly avoided this list is Rep. Emilia Sykes (D, OH-13). Harris apparently won Sykes's Akron/Canton district by less than a tenth of a percentage point, the closest presidential result in any district this year (Sykes herself won by about 2 points). This district, one of the truest swing seats in the country, may change for next cycle. Ohio is the only state that appears certain to have new congressional districts next year, as the current map has now sunset after two cycles of use (this is based on Ohio's current redistricting system). Republicans could draw a map that produces a better outcome for them than their current 10-5 edge, although there are a lot of moving pieces to consider. Under the current map, Democrats have been able to hold onto the two most competitive seats, OH-13 held by Sykes and the Toledo-based OH-9 held by veteran Rep. Marc Kaptur (D), who is among the 13 Trump-district Democrats on Table 2. We'll take a closer look at the redistricting situation in Ohio and elsewhere in a future issue, as there will be additional states beyond Ohio with new maps in 2026 (and any tweak anywhere could be important in such a closely-divided House).

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There is a trio of House Republicans in Harris-won districts. Crossover Reps. Brian Fitzpatrick (R, PA-1) in a suburban Philadelphia district and Mike Lawler (R, NY-17) in an exurban district north of New York City saw Harris only carry their respective districts by less than a percentage point apiece. That means that Rep. Don Bacon (R, NE-2) a surprising winner in 2024 with a well-earned reputation as an electoral survivor, is the only Republican who holds a non-marginal Harris district (this is the electoral district Harris won in Nebraska). Fitzpatrick, one of the House's best electoral performers, was also part of a notable electoral trio in the 2018 midterm: He was 1 of the 3 Rep who successfully defended a district won by Hillary Clinton in 2016 that year (the other members of that troika, Will Hurd of Texas and John Katko of New York, have since left the House). Fitzpatrick was also the lone member among these 16 to win by double digits in 2024, and he ran the furthest ahead of his party's presidential margin. He has not been a major Democratic target since his initial reelection in 2018).

Part of the reason that there are fewer crossover seats now than there used to be is that there have been a number of realignments that have unified how a place votes for president with how it votes for the House. For instance, Republicans used elections like 2010 and 2014 to eliminate moderate-to-conservative white Democrats from the House. In 2018, Democrats knocked out many Republicans from suburban districts that shifted sharply away from Republicans in the Trump era.

To the extent there is a realignment that is going on now, it appears to be in heavily Hispanic and/or Asian-American districts that are not nearly as Democratic as they once were. Many of these districts remain Democratic at the topline level and voted for Kamala Harris, just not by as big of margins. But a few appear on this list as Trump districts that were once Democratic House members.

For instance, first-term Rep. Nellie Pou (D, NJ-9) defended a racially diverse, plurality Latino northern New Jersey district held by Rep. Bill Pascrell (D), a long-serving member who died last August. Joe Biden had carried the district by 19 points, but it swung all the way to Trump by 1 point in 2024, a 20-point net change that was one of the largest Republican shifts in any congressional district from 2020 to 2024. Pou herself defeated an unheralded opponent in her race by 5 points. Is this a true battleground district? Certainly by the presidential topline it is, although it's not uncommon for a realignment—if that is what this is—to take longer to manifest itself below the top of the ticket. The political environment may be pro-Democratic or at least anti-Republican in 2026, given what typically happens in midterms. But Republicans likely will make a serious play for this district, either this cycle or soon thereafter.

Meanwhile, Democratic performance in heavily Latino South Texas had been cratering even before 2024, and there was another sharp turn toward the Republicans there as Reps. Henry Cuellar (D, TX-28) and Vicente Gonzalez (D, TX-34) saw both of their districts flip to Trump, swinging 14 and 20 points, respectively, from 2020 (and this was both swung double-digits away from Democrats when comparing the 2016 presidential results to 2020). In the context of 2026, Cuellar presents an interesting case, in part because he is arguably the least progressive member of the Democratic House caucus and because he is under indictment on serious federal corruption charges, with a trial scheduled to begin (<https://sanantonioreport.org/us-rep-democrat-henry-cuellar-reemerges-as-trial-is-once-again-delayed/>) in September. If Cuellar were to resign, he would have a hard time defending the district in a special election (Cuellar faced a primary challenge from the left in both 2020 and 2022, and it is easy to imagine that he would have already flipped to Republicans had the challenge been successful). Cuellar and Gonzalez were the only two House Democrats to vote with Republicans Tuesday for the anti-trans sports bill (<https://www.texastribune.org/2025/01/14/texas-vicente-gonzalez-henry-cuellar-anti-trans-sports-bill/>) that aims to prevent transgender athletes from participating in sports.

Reps. Josh Harder (D, CA-9) and Adam Gray (D, CA-13) hold substantially Latino Trump-won Central Valley districts that also swung double-digits away from Democrats at the presidential level in 2024; it is notable that Gray unseated now-former Rep. John Duarte (R) in a rematch of their very close 2022 race despite the strong shift against Republicans at the presidential level.




The competitiveness of all of these districts for 2026 will be determined by the political environment and the candidates. Some of these members may seek higher office. For instance, Golden is a possible statewide candidate in Maine, probably likelier for governor than for Senate, while Lawler could run for governor of New York. Given the political talents of both incumbents, both districts would be easier to flip as open seats.

It's also worth noting that while there are just a few Harris-district Republicans, there are several Republicans in narrow Trump districts that Democrats will target in 2026. Reps. Juan Ciscomani (R, AZ-6), Gabe Evans (R, CO-8), Tom Barrett (R, MI-7), Tom Kean Jr. (R, NJ-7), and Jen Kiggans (R, VA-2)—Trump won all of these districts by less than a percentage point apiece after Biden carried them in 2020. Remember, too, that Democrats won 215 seats in 2024, so they are already starting from a fairly high point, and they need to net 3 more to win the House.

If Democrats do flip the House in 2026, it stands to reason that they would flip at least a few of these narrow Trump-won Republican districts—which would have the effect of expanding their roster of crossover members in 2028. Meanwhile, reducing the number of Trump-district Democrats would likely be part of the formula for Republicans to be able to overcome midterm history and hold the House.

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(https://centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/house-rating-changes-following-tn-7-special-plus-updates-on-indiana-redistricting-and-the-overall-house-rating-changes-following-tn-7-special-plus-updates-on-indiana-redistricting-and-the-overall-house-map/)

House Rating Changes Following TN-7 Special, Plus Updates on Indiana Redistricting and the Overall House Map

Notes on the TN-7 special, North Carolina ratings changes, a proposed Indiana Republican gerrymander, and the overall House map

(https://centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/rust-on-the-midterm-iron-law-voter-expectations-for-2026/)

Rust on the Midterm Iron Law? Voter Expectations for 2026 (https://centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/rust-on-the-midterm-iron-law-voter-expectations-2026/)

In the early parts of the Trump administration, citizens were skeptical that Democrats could retake the House or Senate, but more recent surveys indicate that we may see a dead heat.

(https://centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/house-rating-changes-six-moves-toward-democrats-although-topline-remains-close/)

House Rating Changes: Six Moves Toward Democrats, Although Topline Remains Close (https://centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/house-rating-changes-moves-toward-democrats-although-topline-remains-close/)

There are seven rating changes this week, including three in states that held elections earlier this month, New Jersey and Virginia, plus another two in Latino-heavy South Texas.

(https://centerforpolitics.org)

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The 2024 Crossover House Seats: Overall Number Remains Low with Few Harris-District Republicans - Sabato's Crystal Ball

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EXHIBIT 45

TO DECLARATION OF RYAN EASON

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Adam Gray - Ballotpedia

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Adam Gray

Adam Gray ([Democratic Party](#)) is a member of the [U.S. House](#), representing [California's 13th Congressional District](#). He assumed office on January 3, 2025. His current term ends on January 3, 2027.

Gray ([Democratic Party](#)) is running for re-election to the [U.S. House](#) to represent [California's 13th Congressional District](#). He declared candidacy for the 2026 election.[\[source\]](#)

Biography

Adam Gray was born in [Merced, California](#), in 1977. He earned a bachelor's degree in political science from the University of California at Santa Barbara.[\[1\]](#) Gray's career experience includes working as a legislative aide with the California State Legislature and as an assistant lecturer with the University of California at Merced. He was a member of the [California Senate](#) from 2007 to 2011, and a member of the [California Assembly](#) from 2012 to 2022.[\[2\]\[3\]\[4\]](#)

Committee assignments

U.S. House

2025-2026

Gray was assigned to the following committees:[\[Source\]](#)

- [Committee on Agriculture](#)
 - [Commodity Markets Digital Assets and Rural Development](#)
 - [Livestock Dairy and Poultry](#)
- [Committee on Natural Resources](#)
 - [Water, Wildlife and Fisheries](#)

Elections

Adam Gray



[Democratic Party](#)

Candidate, [U.S. House California District 13](#)

[U.S. House California District 13](#)

Tenure

2025 - Present

Term ends

2027

Years in position

0

Predecessor: [John Duarte](#) (R)

Prior offices:

[California State Assembly District 21](#)

Years in office: 2012 - 2022

Successor: [Diane Papan](#) (D)

Compensation

Base salary

\$174,000

Elections and appointments

Last election

November 5, 2024

Next election

November 3, 2026

Personal

Birthplace

Merced, CA

Profession

Educator

Contact

[Official website](#)

[Official Facebook](#)

[Official X](#)

12/3/25, 12:07 PM

Adam Gray - Ballotpedia

2026

See also: [California's 13th Congressional District election, 2026](#)

[Official Instagram](#)
[Campaign website](#)
[Campaign Facebook](#)
[Campaign X](#)

Note: At this time, Ballotpedia is combining all declared candidates for this election into one list under a general election heading. As primary election dates are published, this information will be updated to separate general election candidates from primary candidates as appropriate.

General election

The general election will occur on November 3, 2026.

General election for U.S. House California District 13

Incumbent [Adam Gray](#), [Vin Kruttiventi](#), [Kevin Lincoln II](#), [Javier Lopez](#), and [Alberto Escobedo](#) are running in the general election for U.S. House California District 13 on November 3, 2026.

Candidate



[Adam Gray](#) (D)



[Vin Kruttiventi](#) (R)



[Kevin Lincoln II](#) (R)



[Javier Lopez](#) (R) 



[Alberto Escobedo](#) (No party preference)

BP [Incumbents](#) are **bolded and underlined**.

 = candidate completed the [Ballotpedia Candidate Connection](#) survey.

If you are a candidate and would like to tell readers and voters more about why they should vote for you, [complete the Ballotpedia Candidate Connection Survey](#).

Do you want a spreadsheet of this type of data? [Contact our sales team](#).

Withdrawn or disqualified candidates

- [Angelina Sigala](#) (D)

Endorsements

12/3/25, 12:07 PM

Adam Gray - Ballotpedia

Ballotpedia is gathering information about candidate endorsements. To send us an endorsement, [click here](#).

2024



See also: [California's 13th Congressional District election, 2024](#)

[California's 13th Congressional District election, 2024 \(March 5 top-two primary\)](#)

General election

General election for U.S. House California District 13

[Adam Gray](#) defeated incumbent [John Duarte](#) in the general election for U.S. House California District 13 on November 5, 2024.

	Candidate	%	Votes
✓ 	Adam Gray (D)	50.0	105,554
	John Duarte (R)	50.0	105,367

Total votes: 210,921

BP [Incumbents](#) are **bolded and underlined**. The results have been certified. [Source](#)

 = candidate completed the [Ballotpedia Candidate Connection](#) survey.

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Nonpartisan primary election

Nonpartisan primary for U.S. House California District 13

Incumbent [John Duarte](#) and [Adam Gray](#) advanced from the primary for U.S. House California District 13 on March 5, 2024.

	Candidate	%	Votes
✓ 	John Duarte (R)	54.9	47,219
✓ 	Adam Gray (D)	45.1	38,754

12/3/25, 12:07 PM

Adam Gray - Ballotpedia

Total votes: 85,973

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[C](#) = candidate completed the [Ballotpedia Candidate Connection](#) survey.

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Withdrawn or disqualified candidates

- [Brad Boyd](#) (D)
- [Phil Arballo](#) (D)
- [Diego Martinez](#) (R)
- [Angelina Sigala](#) (D)

Polls

See also: [Ballotpedia's approach to covering polls](#)

We provide results for polls that are included in polling aggregation from *FiveThirtyEight* and *RealClearPolitics*, when available. No polls were available for this election. To notify us of polls published in this election, please [email us](#).

Election campaign finance

Name	Party	Receipts*	Disbursements**	Cash on hand	Date
John Duarte	Republican Party	\$4,576,132	\$4,386,893	\$214,758	As of December 31, 2024
Adam Gray	Democratic Party	\$6,430,862	\$6,293,279	\$191,958	As of December 31, 2024

Source: [Federal Elections Commission](#). "Campaign finance data," 2024. This product uses the openFEC API but is not endorsed or certified by the Federal Election Commission (FEC).

* [According to the FEC](#), "Receipts are anything of value (money, goods, services or property) received by a political committee."

** [According to the FEC](#), a disbursement "is a purchase, payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit or gift of money or anything of value to influence a federal election," plus other kinds of payments not made to influence a federal election.

Satellite spending

See also: [Satellite spending](#)

[Satellite spending](#) describes political spending not controlled by candidates or their campaigns; that is, any political expenditures made by groups or individuals that are not directly affiliated with a candidate. This includes spending by political party committees, [super PACs](#), trade associations, and [501\(c\)\(4\) nonprofit groups](#).^{[5][6][7]}

12/3/25, 12:07 PM

Adam Gray - Ballotpedia

If available, this section includes links to online resources tracking satellite spending in this election. To notify us of a resource to add, [email us](#).

By candidate

- [Duarte](#)
- [Gray](#)

By election

- [Open Secrets](#)
- [FEC](#)

Race ratings

See also: [Race rating definitions and methods](#)

Ballotpedia provides race ratings from four outlets: *The Cook Political Report*, *Inside Elections*, *Sabato's Crystal Ball*, and *DDHQ/The Hill*. Each race rating indicates if one party is perceived to have an advantage in the race and, if so, the degree of advantage:

- **Safe** and **Solid** ratings indicate that one party has a clear edge and the race is not competitive.
- **Likely** ratings indicate that one party has a clear edge, but an upset is possible.
- **Lean** ratings indicate that one party has a small edge, but the race is competitive.^[8]
- **Toss-up** ratings indicate that neither party has an advantage.

Race ratings are informed by a number of factors, including polling, candidate quality, and election result history in the race's district or state.^{[9][10][11]}

Race ratings: California's 13th Congressional District election, 2024				
Race tracker	Race ratings			
	November 5, 2024	October 29, 2024	October 22, 2024	October 15, 2024
The Cook Political Report with Amy Walter	Toss-up	Toss-up	Toss-up	Toss-up
Decision Desk HQ and The Hill	Toss-up	Toss-up	Toss-up	Toss-up
Inside Elections with Nathan L. Gonzales	Tilt Democratic	Tilt Democratic	Tilt Democratic	Toss-up
Larry J. Sabato's Crystal Ball	Lean Democratic	Toss-up	Toss-up	Toss-up
Note: Ballotpedia reviews external race ratings every week throughout the election season and posts weekly updates even if the media outlets have not revised their ratings during that week.				

Endorsements

Ballotpedia did not identify endorsements for Gray in this election.

2022

See also: [California's 13th Congressional District election, 2022](#)

12/3/25, 12:07 PM

Page ID #:5627

Adam Gray - Ballotpedia

General election

General election for U.S. House California District 13

[John Duarte](#) defeated [Adam Gray](#) in the general election for U.S. House California District 13 on November 8, 2022.

	Candidate	%	Votes
✓ 	John Duarte (R) 	50.2	67,060
	Adam Gray (D)	49.8	66,496

BP There were no [incumbents](#) in this race. The results have been certified. [Source](#)

Total votes: 133,556

 = candidate completed the [Ballotpedia Candidate Connection](#) survey.








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Nonpartisan primary election

Nonpartisan primary for U.S. House California District 13

[John Duarte](#) and [Adam Gray](#) defeated [Phil Arballo](#), [David Giglio](#), and [Diego Martinez](#) in the primary for U.S. House California District 13 on June 7, 2022.

	Candidate	%	Votes
✓ 	John Duarte (R) 	34.2	26,163
✓ 	Adam Gray (D)	31.1	23,784
	Phil Arballo (D)	17.1	13,099
	David Giglio (R) 	14.8	11,320
	Diego Martinez (R)	2.7	2,026

12/3/25, 12:07 PM

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Total votes: 76,392

BP There were no [incumbents](#) in this race. The results have been certified. [Source](#)

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Withdrawn or disqualified candidates

- [Angelina Sigala](#) (D)

2020

See also: [California State Assembly elections, 2020](#)

General election

General election for California State Assembly District 21

Incumbent [Adam Gray](#) defeated [Joel Campos](#) in the general election for California State Assembly District 21 on November 3, 2020.

	Candidate	%	Votes
✓ 	Adam Gray (D)	59.6	93,816
	Joel Campos (R)	40.4	63,514

Total votes: 157,330

BP [Incumbents](#) are **bolded and underlined**. The results have been certified. [Source](#)

 = candidate completed the [Ballotpedia Candidate Connection](#) survey.

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Nonpartisan primary election




Nonpartisan primary for California State Assembly District 21

Incumbent [Adam Gray](#) and [Joel Campos](#) defeated [Guadalupe Salazar](#) in the primary for California State Assembly District 21 on March 3, 2020.

Candidate	%	Votes
-----------	---	-------

12/3/25, 12:07 PM

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✓		Adam Gray (D)	99.0	54,987
✓		Joel Campos (R) (Write-in)	0.5	300
		Guadalupe Salazar (R) (Write-in)	0.5	256

Total votes: 55,543

BP [Incumbents](#) are **bolded and underlined**. The results have been certified. [Source](#)

 = candidate completed the [Ballotpedia Candidate Connection](#) survey.

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2018

See also: [California State Assembly elections, 2018](#)

General election

General election for California State Assembly District 21

Incumbent [Adam Gray](#) defeated [Justin Quigley](#) in the general election for California State Assembly District 21 on November 6, 2018.

	Candidate	%	Votes
✓	 Adam Gray (D)	71.3	74,320
	 Justin Quigley (L)	28.7	29,855

Total votes: 104,175

BP [Incumbents](#) are **bolded and underlined**. The results have been certified. [Source](#)

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Nonpartisan primary election

Nonpartisan primary for California State Assembly District 21

12/3/25, 12:07 PM

Adam Gray - Ballotpedia

Incumbent [Adam Gray](#) and [Justin Quigley](#) advanced from the primary for California State Assembly District 21 on June 5, 2018.

	Candidate	%	Votes
✓ 	Adam Gray (D)	99.9	43,023
✓ 	Justin Quigley (L)	0.1	49

Total votes: 43,072

BP [Incumbents](#) are **bolded and underlined**. The results have been certified.

 = candidate completed the [Ballotpedia Candidate Connection](#) survey.

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2016

See also: [California State Assembly elections, 2016](#)

Elections for the [California State Assembly](#) took place in 2016. The primary election was held on June 7, 2016, and the general election was held on November 8, 2016. The candidate filing deadline was February 25, 2016, for candidates filing with signatures. The deadline for candidates using a filing fee to qualify was March 11, 2016.^[12]

Incumbent Adam Gray defeated [Greg Opinski](#) in the California State Assembly District 21 general election.^{[13][14]}

California State Assembly, District 21 General Election, 2016

[hide]

Party	Candidate	Vote %	Votes
Democratic	✓ Adam Gray Incumbent	69.79%	85,990
Republican	Greg Opinski	30.21%	37,230
Total Votes			123,220

Source: [California Secretary of State](#)

Incumbent Adam Gray and [Greg Opinski](#) were unopposed in the California State Assembly District 21 Blanket primary.^{[15][16]}

California State Assembly, District 21 Blanket Primary, 2016

[hide]

Party	Candidate
Democratic	✓ Adam Gray Incumbent
Republican	✓ Greg Opinski

Endorsements

In 2016, Gray's endorsements included the following:^[17]

- Cal Fire Local 2881
- CA School Employees Assn
- CA Assn of Highway Patrolmen
- CA Teachers Association
- Association of CA State Supervisors
- United Domestic Workers/AFSCME Local 3930
- Merced County Farm Bureau
- Stanislaus County Farm Bureau
- California State Retirees
- California Association of Professional Scientists

2014

See also: [California State Assembly elections, 2014](#)

Elections for the [California State Assembly](#) took place in 2014. A primary election took place on June 3, 2014. The general election was held on [November 4, 2014](#). The [signature filing deadline for candidates](#) wishing to run in this election was March 7, 2014. Incumbent Adam Gray (D) was unopposed in the blanket primary and defeated [Jack Mobley](#) (R), who ran in the primary as a write-in candidate, in the general election.^{[18][19][20][21]}

California State Assembly, District 21, General Election, 2014

[Collapse]

PARTY	CANDIDATE	VOTE %	VOTES
Democratic	✓ Adam Gray <i>Incumbent</i>	53.4%	34,931
Republican	Jack Mobley	46.6%	30,499
Total Votes			65,430

2012

See also: [California State Assembly elections, 2012](#)

Gray won election in the [2012 election](#) for [California State Assembly](#) District 21. He advanced past the [blanket primary](#) on June 5, 2012, defeating [Tommy Jones](#) (D), [Lesa Rasmussen](#) (D), and [Robert Sellers](#) (D). Gray defeated [Jack Mobley](#) (R) in the general election on November 6, 2012.^{[22][23][24]}

California State Assembly, District 21, General Election, 2012 [Collapse]

PARTY	CANDIDATE	VOTE %	VOTES
Democratic	✓ Adam Gray	58.2%	63,349
Republican	Jack Mobley	41.8%	45,534
Total Votes			108,883

California State Assembly, District 21 Blanket Primary, 2012 [Collapse]

PARTY	CANDIDATE	VOTE %	VOTES
Democratic	✓ Adam Gray	32.4%	14,391
Democratic	Tommy Jones	9.1%	4,055
Democratic	Lesa Rasmussen	9.7%	4,305

12/3/25, 12:07 PM

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Democratic Robert Sellers	3.3%	1,452
Republican ✓ Jack Mobley	45.4%	20,148
Total Votes		44,351

Endorsements

In 2012, Gray's endorsements included the following:^[25]

- Modesto Bee
- Merced Sun Star
- [Dennis Cardoza, U.S. Representative](#)
- [Cathleen Galgiani, Assemblymember](#)
- Barbara Matthews, Former [Assemblymember](#)
- Jerome Horton, Chairman, California State Board of Equalization
- Merced County Deputy Sheriff's Association
- Stanislaus County Sworn Sheriff's Deputies Association
- Merced Police Officers Association
- Peace Officers Research Association of California (PORAC)
- California Association of Highway Patrolmen
- CDF Firefighters, Local 2881
- California Professional Firefighters
- California Statewide Law Enforcement Association
- State Coalition of Probation Officers (SCOPO)
- California Small Business Association
- California School Employees Association
- California Nurses Association
- National Nurses Organizing Committee
- California Dental Association

Campaign themes

2026

Ballotpedia survey responses

See also: [Ballotpedia's Candidate Connection](#)



Adam Gray has not yet completed [Ballotpedia's 2026 Candidate Connection](#) survey. [Send a message to Adam Gray asking him to fill out the survey.](#) If you are Adam Gray, [click here to fill out Ballotpedia's 2026 Candidate Connection survey.](#)

Who fills out Ballotpedia's Candidate Connection survey?

Any candidate running for elected office, at any level, can complete Ballotpedia's Candidate Survey. Completing the survey will update the candidate's Ballotpedia profile, letting voters know who they

12/3/25, 12:07 PM

Adam Gray - Ballotpedia

are and what they stand for. More than 23,000 candidates have taken Ballotpedia's candidate survey since we launched it in 2015. Learn more about the survey [here](#).

You can ask Adam Gray to fill out this survey by using the buttons below or emailing info@adamgrayforcongress.com.



2024

Adam Gray did not complete [Ballotpedia's 2024 Candidate Connection](#) survey.

Campaign ads



Adam Gray for Congress 2024

Adam C. Gray

Share

Campaign website

Gray's campaign website stated the following:

“

ADAM ON THE ISSUES

Adam is the only candidate with a proven track record of fighting and delivering for the Valley. He is running to represent the 13th Congressional District which includes all of Merced County and portions of the counties of Stanislaus, Madera, Fresno, and San Joaquin.

”

12/3/25, 12:07 PM

Adam Gray - Ballotpedia

Water and Agriculture

Defeated AB 2639, a bill that would have accelerated the adoption of the State Water Grab, officially known as the update to the Bay-Delta Plan, and jeopardized water storage projects like Sites Reservoir.

Ensured that \$2.75 billion would be included in the 2014 water bond for storage. Without that leadership, funding for storage would have been zero.

Organized the 2018 rally that saw 1,500 Valley residents converge on the Capitol steps to protest the State Water Grab.

Led the Valley's efforts to have SB 1 vetoed, which would have taken vast amounts of water used for growing food and drinking into the Delta.

Continues to demand California recognize hydroelectricity as renewable energy.

2022

Adam Gray did not complete [Ballotpedia's 2022 Candidate Connection](#) survey.

Campaign website

Gray's campaign website stated the following:

“ Water & Agriculture

Defeated AB 2639, a bill that would have accelerated the adoption of the State Water Grab, officially known as the update to the Bay-Delta Plan, and jeopardized water storage projects like Sites Reservoir.

Ensured that \$2.75 billion would be included in the 2014 water bond for storage. Without that leadership, funding for storage would have been zero.

Organized the 2018 rally that saw 1,500 Valley residents converge on the Capitol steps to protest the State Water Grab.

Led the Valley's efforts to have SB 1 vetoed, which would have taken vast amounts of water used for growing food and drinking into the Delta.

Continues to demand California recognize hydroelectricity as renewable energy, creating incentives for modernization and expansion of generation capacity as brown outs once again threaten our state.

Restored state funding for FFA chapters serving 83,500 high school students.

2020

Adam Gray did not complete [Ballotpedia's 2020 Candidate Connection](#) survey.

2016

Gray's campaign website highlighted the following issues:

“ As an Assemblymember, Adam will continue to fight for issues that matter most to us in the Valley.

Water - If nothing else, this drought is a reminder of the importance of increased storage capacity. For us in the Valley, sufficient water supplies can be the difference between a paycheck and an unemployment check. Recently, Southern California built a reservoir for their own use. If the people of Los Angeles can understand the importance of increased storage, so can the rest of California.

Jobs – Supporting policies that help create good-paying jobs, incentivize investments in the Valley, and promote increased business activity will always be a top priority. UC Merced and Education – The full build out of UC Merced will have a tremendous impact on our community. Additionally K-12 education must have the resources it needs to ensure our children have the tools to either successfully enter into the job market or go to college.

Preserving Ag - Agriculture is the economic backbone of the Valley. Ending state support of programs like Future Farmers of America does nothing to help prepare our students for careers in farming or preserve our rich agricultural heritage.

Improving Infrastructure - We have lost the ability to build projects in California. Updating our infrastructure is the foundation upon which we ensure we have jobs, water, economic prosperity, and a good public education system.^[26]”

—Adam Gray^[29]

2012

Gray's campaign website listed the following issues:^[30]

- **Creating Jobs** – Supporting policies that help employers create good-paying jobs and invest in Valley communities.
- **Preserving Agriculture** – Fighting to support local farming and the Valley's agricultural heritage, enabling farmers to compete globally.
- **Ensuring Safe and Reliable Water** – Supporting approaches to the Delta that ensure a safe and reliable water supply for consumers and farmers.
- **Improving Our Schools** – Working to improving public schools by making sure that students have the necessary tools and environment to learn.
- **Sound Transportation** – Supporting approaches to transportation and infrastructure that will create local jobs and best serve the needs of all Valley communities.

Campaign finance summary

12/3/25, 12:07 PM

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BP Note: The finance data shown here comes from the disclosures required of candidates and parties. Depending on the election or state, this may represent only a portion of all the funds spent on their behalf. [Satellite spending groups](#) may or may not have expended funds related to the candidate or politician on whose page you are reading this disclaimer. Campaign finance data from elections may be incomplete. For elections to federal offices, complete data can be found at the [FEC website](#). Click [here](#) for more on federal campaign finance law and [here](#) for more on state campaign finance law.

Adam Gray campaign contribution history

YEAR	OFFICE	STATUS	CONTRIBUTIONS	EXPENDITURES
2026*	U.S. House California District 13	Candidacy Declared general	\$1,730,600	\$915,025
2024*	U.S. House California District 13	Won general	\$6,430,862	\$6,293,279
2022	U.S. House California District 13	Lost general	\$2,390,121	\$2,335,746
2020	California State Assembly District 21	Won general	\$1,084,317	N/A**
2016	California State Assembly, District 21	Won	\$1,277,210	N/A**

** Data on expenditures is not available for this election cycle

Note: Totals above reflect only available data.

5 per page

1 - 5 of 7

« Previous

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Notable endorsements

See also: [Ballotpedia: Our approach to covering endorsements](#)

This section displays endorsements this individual made in elections within Ballotpedia's [coverage scope](#).

Notable candidate endorsements by Adam Gray

12/3/25, 12:07 PM

Adam Gray - Ballotpedia

ENDORSEE	ELECTION	STAGE	OUTCOME
Jasmeet Bains source (D)	U.S. House California District 22 (2026)	Primary	–

Personal finance disclosures

Members of the House are required to file financial disclosure reports. You can search disclosure reports on the House's official website [here](#) .

Analysis

Below are links to scores and rankings Ballotpedia compiled for members of Congress. We chose analyses that help readers understand how each individual legislator fit into the context of the chamber as a whole in terms of ideology, bill advancement, bipartisanship, and more.

If you would like to suggest an analysis for inclusion in this section, please email editor@ballotpedia.org.

119th Congress (2025-2027)

Rankings and scores for the 119th Congress

State legislative tenure

Scorecards

See also: [State legislative scorecards](#) and [State legislative scorecards in California](#)

A [scorecard](#) evaluates a legislator's voting record. Its purpose is to inform voters about the legislator's political positions. Because scorecards have varying purposes and methodologies, each report should be considered on its own merits. For example, an advocacy group's scorecard may assess a legislator's voting record on one issue while a state newspaper's scorecard may evaluate the voting record in its entirety.

Ballotpedia is in the process of developing an encyclopedic list of published scorecards. Some states have a limited number of available scorecards or scorecards produced only by select groups. It is Ballotpedia's goal to incorporate all available scorecards regardless of ideology or number.

[Click here](#) for an overview of legislative scorecards in all 50 states. To contribute to the list of California scorecards, email suggestions to editor@ballotpedia.org.

2022

In 2022, the [California State Legislature](#) was in session from January 3 to August 31.

- [ACLU California Action](#)

Legislators are scored on their votes on the association's position legislation.

- [California Chamber of Commerce](#)

Legislators are scored on their votes on bills supported or opposed by the chamber.

- [California Environmental Justice Alliance](#)

Legislators are scored on their votes on environmental issues.

- [California Labor Federation](#)

Legislators are scored on their votes on issues related to labor.

- [California League of Conservation Voters](#)

Legislators are scored on their votes on environmental issues.

- [Children's Advocacy Institute](#)

Legislators are scored on their votes on issues pertaining to children.

- [Equality California](#)

Legislators are scored on their votes on LGBT issues.

- [Health Access California](#)

Legislators are scored on their votes on issues related to the interests of health care consumers.

- [Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association](#)

Legislators are scored on how they voted on taxpayer-related issues.

- [NARAL Pro-Choice California](#)

Legislators are scored on issues related to sexual and reproductive health.

- [National Association of Social Workers - California chapter](#)

Legislators are scored on their votes on bills supported or opposed by the organization.

- [National Federation of Independent Business](#)

Legislators are scored on their votes on bills related to business issues.

- [Planned Parenthood Affiliates of California](#)

Legislators are scored on issues related to sexual and reproductive health.

- [Planning and Conservation League](#)

Legislators are scored on their votes on bills supported or opposed by the organization.

- [Sierra Club California](#)

Legislators are scored on their votes on bills related to environmental policy.

- [The Institute for Legislative Analysis](#)

Legislators are scored on their adherence to the limited government principles of the U.S. Constitution.

- [United Domestic Workers of America \(UDW\) Home Care Providers Union](#)

Legislators are scored on their votes on bills related to the interests of home care providers.

2021

To view all the scorecards we found for this legislator in 2021, click [show]. [\[show\]](#)

2020

To view all the scorecards we found for this legislator in 2020, click [show]. [\[show\]](#)

2019

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2018

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2017

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2016

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2015

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2014

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2013

To view all the scorecards we found for this legislator in 2013, click [show]. [\[show\]](#)

2012

To view all the scorecards we found for this legislator in 2012, click [show]. [\[show\]](#)

Sponsored legislation

The following table lists bills this person sponsored as a legislator, according to [BillTrack50](#) and sorted by action history. Bills are sorted by the date of their last action. The following list may not be comprehensive. To see all bills this legislator sponsored, click on the legislator's name in the title of the table.

Bills Sponsored By: [Adam Gray](#)

US HR1262 - Mikaela Naylor Give Kids a Chance Act

AN ACT To amend the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act with respect to molecularly targeted pediatric cancer investigations, and for other purposes.

12/02/2025: Received in the Senate.

US HR2316 - Wetlands Conservation and Access I...

AN ACT To amend the Pittman-Robertson Wildlife Restoration Act to provide that interest on obligations held in the Federal aid to wildlife restoration fund shall become available for apportionment at the beginning of fiscal year 2033.

11/25/2025: Became Public Law No: 119-40.

US HR6279 - Urban Canal Modernization Act

Committee assignments

2021-2022

Gray was assigned to the following committees:

- [Accountability and Administrative Review Committee](#)
- [Agriculture Committee](#)
- [Emergency Management Committee](#)
- [Revenue and Taxation Committee](#)

2019-2020

Gray was assigned to the following committees:

- [Emergency Management Committee](#)
- [Agriculture Committee](#)
- [Governmental Organization Committee](#), *Chair*
- [Revenue and Taxation Committee](#)

2017 legislative session

At the beginning of the 2017 legislative session, this legislator served on the following committees:

California committee assignments, 2017 [hide]

- [Aging and Long-Term Care](#)
- [Agriculture](#)
- [Appropriations](#)
- [Governmental Organization](#), Chair
- [Emergency Management](#)

2015 legislative session

At the beginning of the 2015 legislative session, Gray served on the following committees:

California committee assignments, 2015 [show]

2013-2014

At the beginning of the 2013 legislative session, Gray served on the following committees:

California committee assignments, 2013 [show]

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2026 Elections



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12/3/25, 12:07 PM

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Footnotes

1. [Legistorm](#), "Rep. Adam Gray," accessed June 5, 2025
2. [Assemblymember Adam Gray](#), "Biography," accessed May 17, 2022
3. [Cal Matters](#), "Adam Gray | California Legislator Tracker," accessed May 17, 2022
4. [United States Congress](#), "GRAY, Adam," accessed June 5, 2025
5. [OpenSecrets.org](#), "Outside Spending," accessed December 12, 2021
6. [OpenSecrets.org](#), "Total Outside Spending by Election Cycle, All Groups," accessed December 12, 2021
7. [National Review.com](#), "Why the Media Hate Super PACs," December 12, 2021

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Political offices

Preceded by John Duarte (R)	U.S. House California District 13 2025-Present	Succeeded by -
Preceded by -	California State Assembly District 21 2012-2022	Succeeded by Diane Papan (D)

[California's current delegation to the United States Congress](#)

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EXHIBIT 46

TO DECLARATION OF RYAN EASON

11/20/25, 9:22 PM

Would Prop. 50 flip two California Central Valley seats? | Sacramento Bee

CAPITOL ALERT

Would Prop. 50 really flip two Central Valley seats? It's a gamble

By **Nicole Nixon**

Updated October 30, 2025 2:16 PM

Why the leader of Merced County Farm Bureau opposes Prop. 50



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11/20/25, 9:22 PM

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Breanne Vandenberg, executive director of the Merced County Farm Bureau, expresses her opposition to Proposition 50. Vandenberg says the measure could harm rural residents and reduce fair representation for agricultural communities in Merced County. By PAUL KITAGAKI JR.

BAKERSFIELD

 **Listen to this article**

Proposition 50 could give Democrats in the southern Central Valley the boost they need to finally oust Rep. David Valadao, R-Hanford, for good.

But in oil-rich and water-poor Kern County, where big industries align with Republicans and many working-class Latinos stay out of politics to preserve their livelihoods, local Democrats acknowledge it will be an uphill climb – even with an advantage from the political gerrymander that California voters are being asked to approve in a Nov. 4 special election – to unseat the six-term congressman and defend the battleground seat moving forward.

“Valadao has been really strong in this district,” Noe Garcia, a regional leader with the California Democratic Party, said in the Bakersfield offices of a domestic workers’ union where he organizes local efforts in support of Prop. 50.

11/20/25, 9:22 PM

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U.S. Rep. David Valadao, R-Hanford, speaks during a 2023 Mexican Independence Day celebration at Fresno City College.
JUAN ESPARZA LOERA *Fresno Bee* file

If it passes, the 22nd Congressional District will “swing a few points more blue by removing some of Tulare and Kings Counties. But the work still stays the same,” he said.

Democrats see Prop. 50 as a chance to secure the 22nd and 13th Congressional Districts, neighboring Latino-majority swing districts that span California’s agricultural heartland in the Central Valley and where political parties spend millions every election cycle.

Gov. Gavin Newsom proposed the new congressional map to oust five Republican members of Congress, including Valadao, under new lines that favor Democrats in order to counteract similar measures in Texas and other red states.

11/20/25, 9:22 PM

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There's just one hitch: Even if the congressional redraw passes, California's 13th and 22nd districts would remain quite competitive.

In some ways, Newsom is putting the outcome of Prop. 50 – his most high-profile fight yet with President Trump – on voters in a region where he's not that popular, even among members of his own party.

"Gavin Newsom is a very polarizing figure" in Kern County, which voted overwhelmingly to recall him in 2021, Garcia said. "Even amongst the Democrats here, they don't see him as the solution."



Noe Garcia, a California Democratic Party regional director, speaks to a group of voters at a Visión y Compromiso meeting about Proposition 50 in Bakersfield earlier this month. "This district is still majority Democrat. But what we see is amongst the culture of Latinos is still a very conservative culture, either because of faith or their country of origin. They grew up in a more conservative manner." PAUL KITAGAKI JR. pkitagaki@sacbee.com

The ballot proposition is Newsom's counterpunch to Texas and other Republican states that have initiated mid-decade redistricting at Trump's urging to help the GOP maintain control of the House after the 2026 midterms. To get around

California's constitutional requirement that legislative and congressional lines get drawn by an independent commission every 10 years, the governor shepherded the ballot proposition through the legislature and in front of voters for a stamp of approval.

The proposition is **expected to pass**; campaigns opposing Prop. 50 have **run out of money** in the crucial days leading up to the vote, rendering them unable to mount the large-scale ad campaign needed to turn out voters against the measure.

Read Next

VOTER GUIDE

Prop. 50 Voter Guide: What to know about California's redistricting measure

October 2, 2025 5:00 AM

Would Prop. 50 do enough to help Central Valley Dems?

On paper, Prop. 50 would be a game changer for Democrats running in a handful of swing districts in the San Joaquin Valley, south of Sacramento.

It would be a boon for Rep. Josh Harder, D-Tracy, who would see the Democratic registration advantage in his 9th Congressional District double from 11 to 22 points as his district sheds the rural outskirts of Stockton to pick up Antioch in bluer Contra Costa County.

Rep. Adam Gray's 13th district includes Lathrop – just south of Stockton – and part of Modesto, as well as all of Merced County and rural portions of Madera, Fresno and Stanislaus counties on the western side of the San Joaquin Valley.

11/20/25, 9:22 PM

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U.S. Rep. Adam Gray, D-Merced, speaks during a swearing-in ceremony at the Merced County Courthouse Museum in January. ANDREW KUHN akuhn@mercedsun-star.com

The 22nd District is anchored by most of Bakersfield to the south. It also includes Delano, Corcoran near Tulare Lake, and part of Hanford, where Valadao lives.

Under Prop. 50 the two Latino-majority battleground districts currently represented by Gray, D-Merced, and Valadao would increase to 16-point Democratic advantages.

But voter registration numbers don't tell the full story of Central Valley politics, where voters reward elected officials who work across the aisle to deliver results and resources, and where moderate Democrats elected in this region are sometimes referred to as "Valleycrats."

"It's a Democrat that oftentimes supports oil, supports agriculture, supports more water coming to the Central Valley," said Christian Romo, chair of the Kern County Democratic Party. "I take pride in saying Valleycrat because it's someone

11/20/25, 9:22 PM

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who's able to negotiate with the other side. I think now more than ever, people are asking for that. We need to find middle ground."



A view of the Kern River Oil Field from Panorama Park in Bakersfield earlier this month. PAUL KITAGAKI JR.
pkitagaki@sacbee.com

Even with the Democratic advantage, voters in Gray's potential new district would have picked Kamala Harris over Trump by just half a percentage point last year. And Newsom would not have broken 50% in his 2022 reelection bid.

Under Prop. 50, Gray's district would maintain many of the agricultural lands that produce milk, almonds, rice and other crops near the northern end of the San

11/20/25, 9:22 PM

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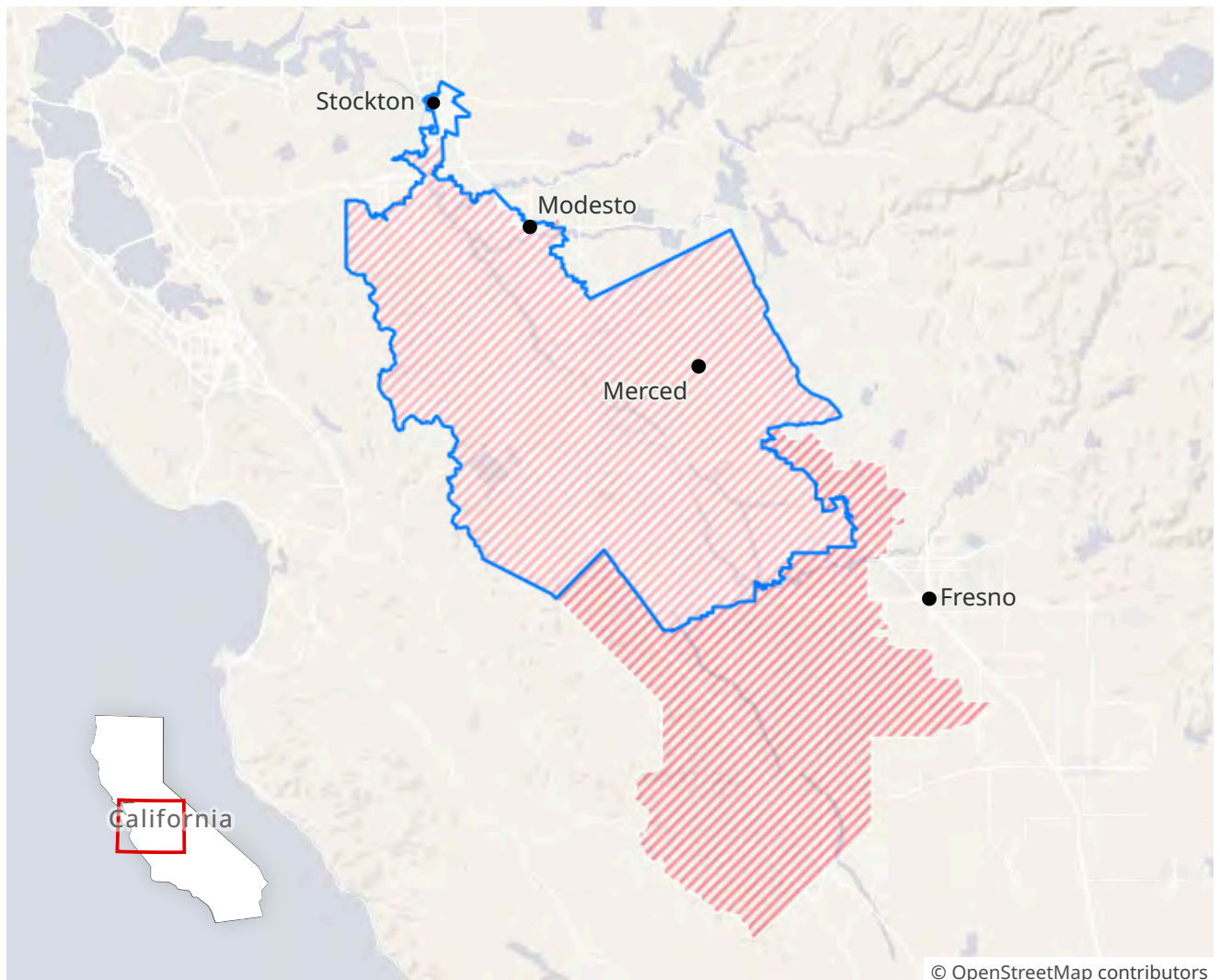
Joaquin Valley. But the measure would lop off miles of farmland near Fresno in exchange for an arm reaching into Stockton to capture more Democratic voters.

How Prop. 50 would change the 13th district

The district, won by Democrat Adam Gray by 187 votes in the 2024 election, would add urban voters in Stockton and Modesto while surrendering rural areas on its southern end.

 Prop. 50 boundary

 Current boundary



Source: California Assembly, wedrawthelines.ca.gov • Map: NATHANIEL LEVINE

Gray won his 2024 election in the 13th District by just 187 votes, making it the closest congressional race in the country last year. Before Gray, the district was represented by John Duarte, a Modesto Republican who is not planning to run again.

11/20/25, 9:22 PM

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“What is important in the Central Valley is that you work with everyone,” said Assemblymember Esmeralda Soria, a Democrat who served two terms on the Fresno City Council before winning an open seat representing the 27th Assembly District by two points in 2022. Last year she soundly won reelection after securing \$57 million for Madera County’s only hospital, which reopened earlier this year after shuttering in early 2023.



Assemblymember Esmeralda Soria, D-Fresno, speaks about Proposition 50 in Merced earlier this month. “What is important in the Central Valley is that you work with everyone,” she said. PAUL KITAGAKI JR. pkitagaki@sacbee.com

No matter what happens with Prop. 50, Democratic candidates have the advantage of campaigning against Republican-led cuts to Medicaid, which provides health insurance to most residents in these Central Valley districts, said political strategist Mike Madrid, who focuses on Latino voters.

“Valadao lost in 2018 under very similar circumstances to what we’re looking at right now. The GOP was consumed and obsessed with ICE raids, crackdowns on

immigration,” he said. “The likelihood of that happening is very, very good heading into the midterms under the new lines or the old lines.”

Madrid predicts the “long term trajectory” of Central Valley Latinos is “more swinginess and more rejection of the party in power. That’s trouble for whoever is a sitting member of Congress in any given year.”

Why didn’t Democrats draw a more favorable map?

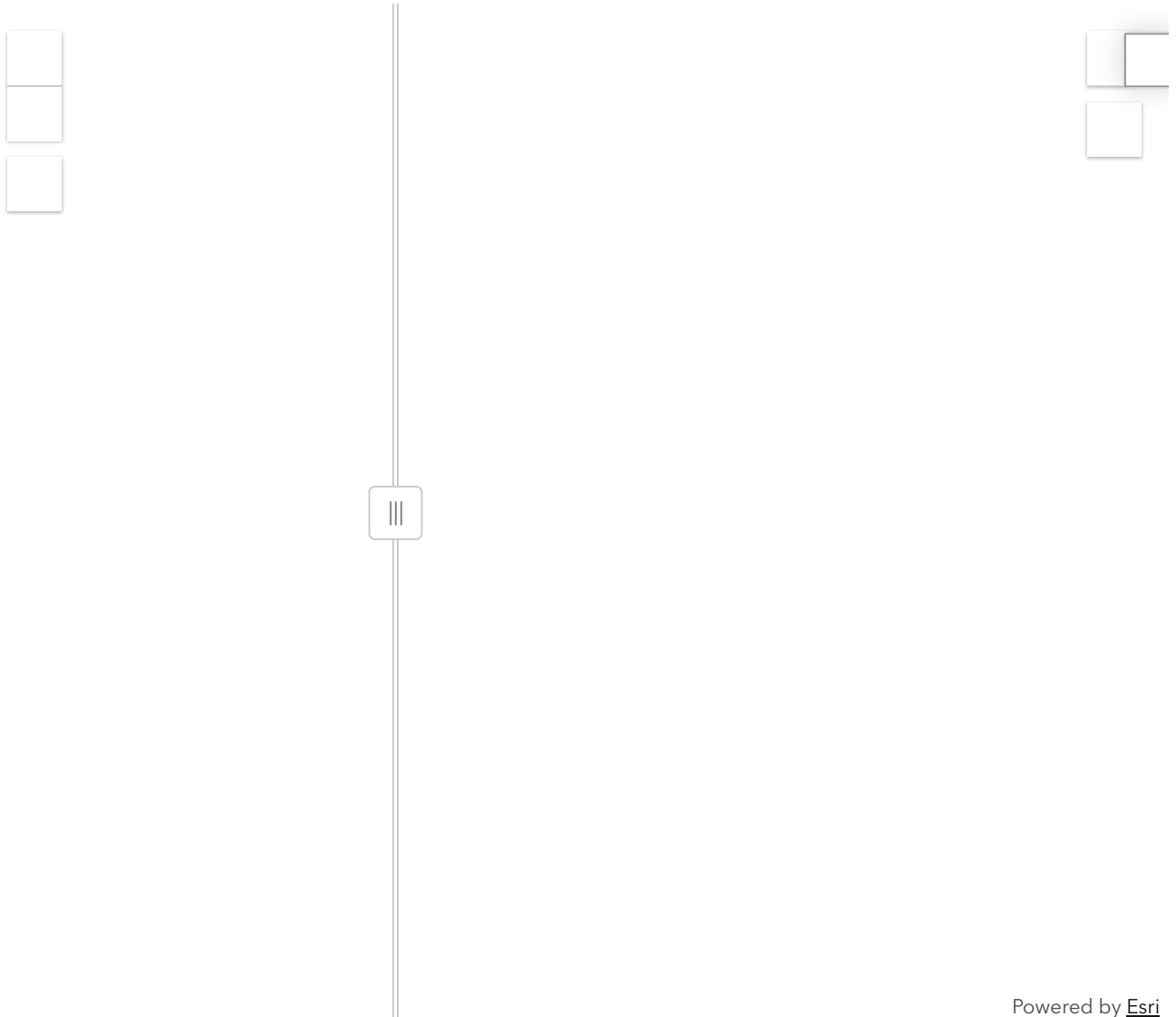
While they made no secret about their goal of partisan gerrymandering, California lawmakers made it a priority to follow certain criteria in the Voting Rights Act, which prohibits rules and procedures that discriminate against voters of color.

In redistricting terms, this means that based on California’s population, the state should have 16 Latino-majority congressional districts. There are also “influence districts” in places where large blocs of Asian, Black and Latino voters – while they don’t constitute a majority – are kept together to ensure their mutual interests can be represented.


Prop. 50 supporters tout that the redrawn maps would not decrease voting influence among California’s communities of color. According to [an analysis](#) by the Public Policy Institute of California, the proposed map would actually create an additional Latino influence district in Southern California, currently held by Rep. Darrell Issa, another target of the Democratic gerrymander.

Before and after: How the proposed congressional districts compare

The redrawn congressional districts could cost the state's Republican delegation five seats in the 2026 election. Use the slider in the middle of the map to see how they compare to the districts created in 2021 by the California Citizens Redistricting Commission.



Powered by [Esri](#)

Sources: California Assembly, California Citizens Redistricting Commission. Map: NATHANIEL LEVINE 

Paul Mitchell, the political cartographer and redistricting expert who worked with Democrats to draw the map Californians are currently voting on, said there was a way to make the districts currently held by Gray and Valadao more

11/20/25, 9:22 PM

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favorable to Democratic victories. But doing so would have required crafting those districts to include coastal population centers like Salinas and Monterey.

“They would have been stronger Democratic seats but would ensure the power center would be out of Central Valley,” Mitchell said. “Is that how we want to get more Dems elected? By decimating the Central Valley and ensuring these people don’t have representative leadership?”

Instead, Democratic lawmakers chose to keep the 13th and 22nd districts situated in the Valley, under lines that would shift only a few points in their favor.

Prop. 50 opponents point out the measure would decimate representative leadership in the north state. The proposed lines would place the northernmost reaches of Republican Rep. Doug LaMalfa’s rural district into one with ultra-liberal Marin County.

Read Next

CAPITOL ALERT

What’s in a district? Rural Californians react to Democratic gerrymandering play

August 22, 2025 5:00 AM

“Modoc and Marin don’t belong in the same district, nor do San Jose and Coalinga,” said Shannon Douglass, president of the California Farm Bureau.

Coalinga, a town in Fresno County that sits near a major oil field, is currently represented by Gray but would move to the district held by Rep. Zoe Lofgren, D-San Jose.

Breanne Vandenberg, executive director of the Merced County Farm Bureau, raised a similar concern about farmers in Gray’s district.

11/20/25, 9:22 PM

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Breanne Vandenberg, executive director of the Merced County Farm Bureau, stands in an almond orchard near Merced on Oct. 21. "Our board has elected to oppose Prop. 50 because it creates issues for rural residents and our community in representation," she said. PAUL KITAGAKI JR. pkitagaki@sacbee.com

"We're comparing the areas of Le Grand, Planada, Santa Nella" – small farming communities – "to Stockton, which creates vast differences from our viewpoint," she said in a Merced almond orchard.

Vandenberg praised Gray as someone who has engaged with and delivered for farmers during his time in Congress and the state Legislature. But she worried that adding urban constituents into the 13th District could pull Gray's time and attention away from his rural ones.

"My Planada folks were flooded in 2023 and are still trying to recover from that," she said. "Are farmworkers in Planada going to be taken care of when you have whatever Stockton has going on, too?"

Will Prop. 50 end Valadao's winning streak?

11/20/25, 9:22 PM

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The two battleground districts are linked by freeways on either side of the valley. Farmland and massive processing plants for dairy, nuts and produce line the roads between Merced and Bakersfield, the heart of each district. Box trucks parked on freeway-adjacent properties are plastered with signs urging ‘No on 50’ and blaming Newsom for wasting precious water by letting it flow into the ocean.

Like Gray, Valadao would be drawn into a district with a 16-point Democratic registration advantage. While it sounds insurmountable for a Republican, the current district already has a 13-point Democratic advantage and has repeatedly reelected Valadao.

11/20/25, 9:22 PM

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How Prop. 50 would change the 22nd district

The district, won by David Valadao, R-Hanford, in the 2024 election, would have a 16-point Democratic registration advantage under the Proposition 50 map.



Prop. 50 boundary



Current boundary

© OpenStreetMap contributors

Source: California Assembly, wedrawthelines.ca.gov • Map: NATHANIEL LEVINE

“They already packed plenty of Democrats into the seat and he’s been winning,” said Cathy Abernathy, a Republican consultant based in Bakersfield.

While Prop. 50 would make it [harder for Valadao to win](#), “he’s a strong candidate. The issues are good for him right now,” she said.

Democrats have spent millions of dollars trying to unseat him but – with one exception in 2018 – Valadao has defied the odds by winning in a majority-Latino

11/20/25, 9:22 PM

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district where Democratic voters outnumber Republicans.



Republican consultant Cathy Abernathy stands outside the party headquarters in Bakersfield earlier this month. "As the Republican Party, we are going to focus very hard on David Valadao. He does great, particularly when Trump is on the ballot," she said. PAUL KITAGAKI JR. pkitagaki@sacbee.com

Valadao, a dairy farmer from Hanford, tends to perform better during presidential election years when Trump is on the ballot, Abernathy said. He won't have that advantage in 2026.

Democrats here hope Prop. 50 could finally be the turning point to oust Valadao for good – but they acknowledge it may still be an uphill climb in an area where conservative family values dominate and major employers generally support Republicans.

Kern County Democrats have struggled to break through

Since the mid-1990s, when Republicans including then-Gov. Pete Wilson backed Prop. 187, which tried to block undocumented immigrants from accessing public schools and other services, Latino voters in California have reliably supported Democrats – except in Kern County, where Latino voters make up a majority of the population but Republicans have dominated in elections.

Newsom is widely reviled here for cutting back on oil drilling and not prioritizing new reservoirs to store water for thirsty farms.



11/20/25, 9:22 PM

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Residents walk above the Kern River Oil Field on their evening walk in Panorama Park in Bakersfield earlier this month. PAUL KITAGAKI JR. pkitagaki@sacbee.com

Even many Democratic and independent voters are ambivalent about the governor, who is now openly [teasing a 2028 run](#) for president.

“With working class families, he’s not always our number one candidate,” said Romo with the Kern County Democratic Party. “Obviously, we support him dearly here in Kern County as the Democrats. But sometimes it gets a little difficult when we have him attack our industries like (agriculture) and oil.”

Here, where powerful industry leaders tend to align with Republicans, Latino organizers say political engagement is low and that it can be taboo to openly support Democratic causes and candidates.

“Folks have been very afraid of being too partisan,” said Garcia, the Democratic organizer. The 25-year-old was born in Bakersfield to parents who emigrated from Mexico. “If you’re too pro-Democrat, that can affect your business.”

Misinformation is rampant on farm and oil job sites, said Hortencia Cabral, a local school board member and president of the Democratic Women of Kern. She believes influential industry leaders spread “propaganda in Latino communities to discourage people from voting.”

11/20/25, 9:22 PM

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Hortencia Cabral, a school board member and president of the Democratic Women of Kern, holds a flyer that says "Stop Trump from rigging elections" as she speaks about Proposition 50 to a group of voters at a community meeting on Oct. 22 in Bakersfield. PAUL KITAGAKI JR. pkitagaki@sacbee.com

“They hire walkers to leave negative flyers at every Democratic household. Families see it and probably become discouraged. They think both sides are the same,” she said. “Lots of people aren’t confident enough, or they don’t have time or energy to research.

“And it works,” she said with a sigh. Many Spanish-speaking households don’t vote.

The Democratic organizers worry that fears of immigration raids could affect Latino turnout for the special election and next year’s midterms. Garcia said there was a “noticeable drop” in Latino attendance at the most recent “No Kings” protest in Bakersfield compared to the first one in June.

“The community is very much aware that anyone can be stopped for being brown. Folks are scared of opening the doors, even to canvassers,” he said. “We

have to continue finding them where they're at.”

Cabral, Garcia and other Latino Democrats are trying to strengthen relationships between their party and less politically active Latinos, who in Kern County are often migrants themselves or children of immigrants.

On a recent weekday morning, they met with about a dozen *promotoras* – Hispanic community leaders, usually women, who help people navigate systems to access health care and other services – to make the case for Prop. 50 and answer questions.

“They want to be informed because they’re being asked about Prop. 50 right now,” said Nataly Santamaria, who works for Visión y Compromiso, a nonprofit that helps support promotora networks across California and part of Mexico.

In Spanish, the women asked questions: How the measure would affect their communities, how redistricting typically works, and whether any other states are also redrawing political lines.

Garcia and Cabral told them Prop. 50 is “an emergency proposition” which, if it passes, could help stop immigration raids and deeper cuts to Medicaid. They also noted that while other states are engaging in redistricting, California is the only place where voters must give permission.

11/20/25, 9:22 PM

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Noe Garcia, a California Democratic Party regional director, speaks to a group of voters at a Visión y Compromiso meeting about Proposition 50 on Oct. 22 in Bakersfield. Garcia said that many Latinos oppose abortion and feel aligned with the Republican Party on the issue, but Democrats need to better communicate their support for many programs that the Latino community relies on – including SNAP, EBT, and funding for schools and financial aid for college. PAUL KITAGAKI JR.
pkitagaki@sacbee.com

While their messaging generally shied away from partisan overtones, Garcia eventually noted that Valadao recently voted to cut Medicaid. That was something the promotoras had heard about. Disappointed murmurs followed the mention of Valadao's name.

“People don’t like that,” Santamaria said. “They know that he voted, after he vowed to vote against Medicaid cuts. He still went ahead and did it.”

But she couldn’t say whether it would change anyone’s vote on Valadao.

“I at least hope that they will look into his voting record,” she said. “What he has supported or not supported, and see if it aligns with their values.”

11/20/25, 9:22 PM

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This story was originally published October 30, 2025 at 5:35 AM.

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Nicole Nixon *The Sacramento Bee*   916-326-5507

Nicole Nixon covers California politics for The Sacramento Bee's Capitol Bureau. Previously, she spent nearly a decade reporting for public radio stations in Sacramento and her hometown of Salt Lake City.

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BLOG POST · OCTOBER 8, 2025

How Would the Prop 50 Redistricting Plan Affect Racial and Geographic Representation?

Eric McGhee

Governor Newsom and the California Legislature have put Proposition 50, a congressional redistricting plan, on a special election ballot this fall. Prop 50 aims to give California Democrats several additional US House seats as a response to redistricting in Texas that gives more seats to Republicans. To achieve this objective, Prop 50 supporters want to temporarily set aside the legal requirements that helped shape the existing plan. We have already evaluated the new plan's partisan impact. Here we assess two factors that the current plan—drawn by California's independent Citizens Redistricting Commission (CRC)—is required to consider: racial and geographic representation. Because voters are being asked to suspend these requirements, it makes sense to evaluate the proposed map's impact in these areas.

The CRC's map had to satisfy the requirements of the Federal Voting Rights Act (VRA), which include drawing districts for voters of color who hold politically cohesive views and are numerous enough to make up a majority within a single geographical area. Historically, Latinos are the only group to clear this bar for the congressional map. The CRC's current congressional plan includes 16 majority-Latino districts, as does the Prop 50 plan. Neither Black nor Asian Californians have a majority district in either plan.

Districts can also have shares of voters of color that are large enough to “influence” (or help decide) electoral outcomes. Here, we use 30% as the threshold for influence. The CRC plan includes 6 Asian American, 2 Black, and 7 Latino districts that are at or above this threshold. Here, too, the proposed plan matches the current one almost exactly: it adds one more Latino influence district but otherwise replicates the status quo.

The Prop 50 plan largely matches the CRC plan on racial representation

	Majority districts	Influence districts
Asian American		
Current districts	0	6
Proposed districts	0	6
Black		
Current districts	0	2
Proposed districts	0	2
Latino		
Current districts	16	7
Proposed districts	16	8

SOURCES: Statewide Database (2019–2023 ACS block-level data); Citizens Redistricting Commission (block equivalency files for current plan); California State Assembly Committee on Elections (block equivalency files for proposed plan).

NOTES: In “majority” districts, a majority of the citizen voting-age population (CVAP) identifies as part of a given group. In “influence” districts, a given group constitutes 30%–50% of the CVAP.

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The CRC is also required to consider certain geographic criteria: district compactness (simple shapes rather than strange ones) and the number of cities and counties split into separate districts. (It must also keep “communities of interest” whole, but since there is no consensus definition of this term, we do not analyze it here.) The Prop 50 plan is also very close to the CRC plan on these dimensions. The CRC plan keeps one more county intact (31) than the proposed plan (30), and the two plans include the same share of intact cities (88% in each, though the lists of split cities differ). According to one popular measure of compactness, the Prop 50 map is slightly less compact than the existing plan. However, it is worth noting that the current CRC plan is also less compact than the previous CRC plan.

The Prop 50 plan's geographic metrics are very similar to the CRC plan

	Intact counties (#)	Intact cities (%)	Compactness
Current districts	31	88	0.208
Proposed districts	30	88	0.189

SOURCES: US Census Bureau (county and city shapefiles); Citizens Redistricting Commission (shapefiles for current plan); California State Assembly Committee on Elections (shapefiles for proposed plan); PlanScore (compactness)

The proposed redistricting plan has a single overriding goal: to elect more Democrats. While its supporters propose to set aside current legal requirements, the Prop 50 map largely matches the existing map on the sort of criteria the CRC was required to consider. The metrics considered here are statewide, so they do not speak to representation for specific communities. The CRC listened to many hours of testimony about community interests, while the Prop 50 plan was drawn quickly and without such input. As such, some communities may have complaints about specific lines drawn by the proposed plan. But the plan as a whole is very similar to the current one in most respects: it deviates mostly by creating more Democratic seats.

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